

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T PARIS 09271

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EXDIS

MOSCOW FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, US, FR, UR
SUBJ: SECRETARY'S VISIT: ELYSEE CONCERNS OVER US
POSITIONS ON CTB AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS SALES

REFS: A. PARIS 9220. B. STATE 66861.

1. IN COURSE LONGER DISCUSSION REPORTED SEPTTEL
ELYSEE INTERNATIONAL STAFF SOURCE SAID PRESIDENT
GISCARD WAS ALSO DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER POSITIONS US
HAD TAKEN ON CTB, WITHOUT, SOURCE ADDED, PRIOR CON-
SULTATIONS AT HIGHEST LEVELS IN THE GOF.

2. GISCARD FULLY UNDERSTANDS AND INDEED SHARES US
LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES IN THIS AREA. HE IS ALSO AWARE
OF THE US ASSUMPTION THAT NOT ALL NUCLEAR POWERS WILL
BE PRESSED TO SUBSCRIBE TO WHATEVER COMPREHENSIVE
TEST-BAN ACCORD THE US, THE USSR, AND THE UK MIGHT
ARRIVE AT.

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3. GISCARD, NEVERTHELESS, FEELS THAT THE IMPLICATIONS
OF THIS INITIATIVE FOR FRANCE COULD BE "VERY SERIOUS."
ONCE AGREED TO BY THE TWO, OR THE THREE, SUCH A PROJECT
WILL INEVITABLY UNLEASH "MASSIVE" SOVIET DIPLOMATIC,
AND WORLDWIDE PUBLIC PRESSURE ON FRANCE TO FALL INTO
LINE, PARTICULARLY WHEN AGREEMENT COMES UP FOR RENEWAL

AFTER THREE OR FOUR YEARS. PROBLEM WILL BE AGGRAVATED BY FACT THAT FRANCE HAS TO DO ITS TESTING IN THE PACIFIC. PACIFIC REGIONAL STATES WILL USE CTB TO FURTHER INCREASE THEIR PRESSURE FOR CESSATION FRENCH TESTING. RESULT COULD PUT FRANCE IN "CATASTROPHIC CORNER," AS SOURCE PUT IT, SINCE GISCARD IS CONVINCED THAT FRANCE MUST REPEAT MUST CONTINUE ITS TEST PROGRAMS FOR MULTIPLE WARHEADS, TO FURTHER MINIATURIZE AND HARDEN THEM, A PROCESS WHICH SOURCE SAID COULD NOT BE COMPLETED IN THIS SHORT TIME. WE ASSUME THIS MEANS, INTER ALIA, THAT GISCARD MAY WANT TO KEEP HIS OPTIONS OPEN TO GO ON FROM MRV TO MIRV. LEFT UNSAID, BUT OBVIOUSLY ALSO PART OF GISCARD'S CONCERN, IS THE POLITICAL FACT THAT IN THE CHARGED DOMESTIC CLIMATE OF THIS AND THE COMING YEARS, GISCARD WOULD BE PILLORIED IF HE ACCEPTED INHIBITIONS ON FRENCH EFFECTIVENESS OR INDEPENDENCE IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD.

4. EMBASSY THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THAT THE SECRETARY BE PREPARED TO ASSURE GISCARD AND HIS SENIOR ASSOCIATES AT THE ELYSEE THAT THE US DOES NOT INTEND TO SUPPORT A CAMPAIGN TO FORCE FRANCE TO STOP DEVELOPING ITS NUCLEAR FORCE.

5. SOURCE WENT ON TO SAY THAT GISCARD WAS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT US IDEAS ON LIMITING CONVENTIONAL ARMS SALES. ELYSEE IS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE US WANTS TO CONFINE ARMS SALES OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES TO AREAS WITH WHICH THEY HAVE TRADITIONAL RELATION-
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SHIPS. IT FEARS THAT THIS WOULD MEAN THAT THE US WOULD GET THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH PAYS, WHEREAS FRANCE WOULD GET AFRICA--WHICH DOESN'T. ELYSEE RECOGNIZES THAT ARMS SALES ISSUE IS STILL IN FORMATIVE STAGE, BUT IS ALSO ANXIOUS TO GO OVER THIS GROUND WITH THE SECRETARY AND HIS ASSOCIATES.
GAMMON

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